

Swante Palm

1861



Swante Palm
ORATION

DELIVERED ON THE

FOURTH DAY OF JULY, 1861,

AT THE

CAPITOL, AUSTIN, TEXAS.

BY

HON. A. W. TERRELL,

AUSTIN:

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1861.

CORRESPONDENCE:

AUSTIN, July 5th, 1861.

HON. A. W. TERRELL :

The undersigned committee respectfully request, on behalf of the citizens of Travis county, a copy of your eloquent oration delivered on yesterday, for publication.

Very respectfully, your obedient serv'ts,

N. G. SHELLEY,

JNO. M. SWISHER,

H. H. HAYNIE,

C. S. WEST,

F. T. DUFFAU,

T. D. MOSELEY,

Committee of Arrangements.

AUSTIN, July 6th, 1861.

TO MESSRS. N. G. SHELLEY, JNO. M. SWISHER, *et al's.*

Gentlemen : In answer to your communication, of the 5th inst, I transmit my address, delivered to the citizens of Travis county. You are at liberty to make such use of it as you may desire.

Very Respectfully,

A. W. TERRELL.

ORATION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

Every people who in the providence of God have been blessed with the enjoyment of freedom, have hailed with exultation and joy the annual return of some day which marked a bright epoch in their history; and you, the mingled sons and daughters of many States, have with patriotic zeal come forth to celebrate this, the birth-day of American Independence.

With a unanimity of purpose and a glow of feeling, such as you did not, and could not feel in the later and worse days of the Republic, you have assembled to do honor to the great cause of Constitutional Freedom; to hear yet once more read the Declaration of Independence; to bow down before the God of a free people, and invoke his aid in their behalf.

As the sea faring man, who for many days has been tossed upon a dangerous sea, will when the stars shine out, take his reckoning to see whether he has drifted from his true course, so we who have so lately journeyed over the billows of political strife, now that the voice of dissension is no longer heard, should e'er we wrestle with a blacker storm, make our reckoning, to see whether we have drifted away from the faith bequeathed to us by the apostles of '76. Or as the christian, who desires to strengthen his faith, daily contemplates the pure system of morality which his God gave him, so we, though we may not be instructed, may strengthen our faith, and derive profit and encouragement by reviewing the history of the declaration which we have just heard read, and tracing its consequences even to the present hour.

The first permanent settlers of the thirteen colonies sought an asylum in the new world, not so much in the beginning, for the enjoyment of civil as religious freedom. The persecuted Catholic sought the shores of Maryland, and invited the Protes-

tant to come and enjoy with him, liberty of conscience. The brave Huguenot, driven by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes from his native land, found an asylum on the shores of South Carolina; the grim Puritan in a more northern land, and each laid broad and deep in the solitudes of a new world, the foundations of their future power.

It pertains not to the present occasion to detail minutely the privations which each colony endured, and the persecutions for conscience sake, which were both endured and inflicted by the people of New England. The last is important to be remembered, only that we may trace thus early the germ of that spirit of intolerance which has since culminated so fearfully. The twenty-five thousand puritans, who during the first ten years of the settlement of Massachusetts, found there a refuge from the persecutions of Charles, had scarcely established themselves in their new home before they began the work of intolerance and prescription among themselves. Roger Williams and his followers, for their religious faith, were banished to the wilderness; the Quakers were driven forth or hung; Episcopal emigrants from England were not permitted to land and establish homes among them, while in Connecticut, none were admitted to the privileges of free men, for many years, but such as were members of the Puritan church.

Far different was the spirit of toleration which marked the early settlement of Maryland, Rhode Island, the Carolinas and Georgia. The Catholic and Protestant, the Scotch Presbyterian and the Cavalier tolerated in others that freedom of conscience which they enjoyed themselves, and invited the persecuted of every land to come and partake with them of its benefits.

For nearly two hundred years the early colonists of America and their descendents, with varied vicissitudes of fortune struggled with the hardships of the wilderness. Though acknowledging their allegiance to the British crown, they were far removed from the corrupting influences of the Court, and saw not the tinsel ornaments and glittering gewgaws of Royalty. They learned habits of self reliance in the school of stern necessity and derived strength from their conflicts with adversity. Secure in their very poverty from the exactions of arbitrary power, they learned to prize the blessings of social order, regulated by law; and thus, while the nations of the old world were contending through the weary lapse of ages only to accomplish a change of masters, the colonists all unconscious of their high destiny, were silently learning the lessons of civil freedom.

Nor in learning those lessons, were they destitute of beacon lights in the past, furnished by their own proud ancestry. They remembered that the sturdy Barons of Runnymede had five hundred years before, wrung from a reluctant king the concessions of Magna Charta; and though they had been sometimes almost forgotten in the civil wars which convulsed the British isles, they were remembered in the new world by those who were soon to peril all in their defense. They remembered that there were rights pertaining to all who had shown capacity for self government, higher than crowns or parchment grants—inherent and unalienable rights, which pertained to the intelligent man, by virtue of his rank in the creation. And the time came when the people, in the strength of these great truths, were to rise, even in the midst of peace, plenty and prosperity, and vindicate them in arms against the first power upon earth.

And here, my fellow-citizens, it may be well for us to pause and remind ourselves of the true cause for which that memorable struggle for independence was begun. On the 6th day of February, 1765, the British Parliament passed the Stamp act, which provided for the collection of impost duties on all stamped paper to be used in the colonies. The tax was insignificant and pecuniarily would not be felt, but the right which was claimed to impose it, when the corresponding right to representation was denied, roused the slumbering spirit of the Colonies and upon their remonstrance, it was promptly repealed. In the year 1767 another act was passed by Parliament, imposing duties upon all tea, paper, glass, paints, and lead that should be imported into the Colonies. Though the grievances complained of in the Declaration of Independence all had an existence in '76, we must not forget that they were nearly all inflicted after active preparations for war had been begun by the Colonists. The passage of the tax bill and the effort to enforce it, backed by the declaration of the British Government that the right existed in the mother country to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever, was the cause, and the one great cause which prompted resistance to the British Crown. Every other cause set forth was subordinate to this, and few others had an existence until after war had begun.

For more than a year the thunder of contending armies had been heard in the land, when the delegates from the thirteen Colonies, calling themselves a Congress, met together in Convention to take counsel together concerning the honor and safety of their native land. A declaration by the Colonies of their independence was about to be published to the world by

the first statesmen of the age. The connection with the mother country was about to be dissolved by the once feeble colonies, who now proudly aspired to the position of sovereign States.— They were about to launch the lives and fortunes of the people on the doubtful sea of revolutionary strife, against their own kindred, who spoke a common language, and gloried in the achievements of a common ancestry. They were about to grapple with the prejudice of ages, and baptize with blood their devotion to an idea. They were revolting against a government, then the freest and proudest upon earth. They were to contend against a flag which they had often followed in the red path of battle. In four wars with France, the triumphal progress of the British flag, over this continent, could be trailed by the bleaching bones of the brave colonists who had followed it. Only fifteen years before, thirty thousand of them had sealed their devotion to the British crown by lying down in their last sleep under the shadow of the British flag. In that struggle, the colonies voluntarily expended fifteen millions of money to assist the mother country against France. Nor was this all, they were contending against a people who rejoiced in the glories of a British Constitution, and that Constitution our fathers of '76 had delighted to honor.

Oh! my countrymen, the dangers of the tented field, the desolations of war and the destruction of fortune, moved not so deeply the springs of feeling in our patriot sires, as did the clustering memories of their own past history, which bound them in the links of a common brotherhood to their Briton foes.

And now on the fourth day of July, 1776, the delegates from thirteen colonies are about to publish to the world their declaration of independence. They are about to claim for their respective colonies the position of sovereign States; and yet they knew that all the world beside and thousands in their midst denied to them every attribute of sovereignty. With no bond of Union but a common hope, a common danger and a common destiny; with no organized government to provide for their safety; without money, without powder, and almost without arms; knowing no flag, under which their proud hearts had ever burned but the one upon which they were about to war, we can all see how desperate must have been the hope that they would make that declaration good.

Nor was this all, for while they had much to excite their fear, they had abundant reason to hope that a struggle might be avoided by delay. They knew that the sympathies of a

powerful party in the mother country were with them; that the elder Pitt and the gifted Burke were even then making the halls of Parliament resound with eloquent vindications of their cause, and surely they were not without reason to hope, that under the lead of such champions, the right would triumph, that the blind advisers of the crown would soon be hurled from power, and the protection of a restored Constitution once more extended over them. But all these considerations were but as "wafted dust upon the balances" when they remembered that the sword and purse of Britain were controlled even for an hour by those who were bent on violating the British Constitution to their prejudice. They had studied too well the history of the past to believe that the grasp of tyranny was ever relaxed by temporising expedients, and they knew that the spirit of a people was already crushed when they could contemplate in silence the prospect of their degradation.

Knowing all this, they no longer hesitated, but boldly published to the world their declaration that the 13 colonies "were and of right ought to be free, sovereign and independent States, and for the support of that declaration with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other, their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor."

We may search the pages of history in vain for the consummation of another work like this. It was the advent of the political Shiloh, whose coming had been expected through the ages of tyranny and darkness; it was the babe in the manger, whilst idolatry was upon the throne. Then was proclaimed to the world the great truth that all government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed, and that whenever any form of government became destructive of the unalienable rights of the people, it was *their* right to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them, the people, should seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Nor is this the only great lesson which was taught, the Congress of delegates, by their declaration, published it to the world as their deliberate judgment, that whenever a government evinced a design to reduce the people to the sway of despotism, it was not only their *right*, but their *duty* to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future safety. They promulgated no utopian theory of freedom as alike applicable to every race, whatever its condition or capacity; but claimed only for *themselves* the right to assume among the nations of the earth that separate and equal station to which

the laws of nature and nature's God entitled them. They sought not to make white that which God had created black; but charged it upon Briton's king as one of their grievances, that he had endeavored to incite domestic insurrection among their slaves. They did not advise that the established forms of government should be blindly worshiped until the designs of despotism were consummated, and that then the people should strike to regain their lost independence; they taught a better and a bolder doctrine. They taught us by their example, that whenever the purpose to usurp authority was avowed, the work of arming for resistance should begin; and they taught by their declaration, that whenever the designs of despotism were manifest, it was the duty of the people to form a new government to secure their happiness and safety. Let this lesson sink to day yet deeper into the southern heart, that we and our children may remember never to wait until the chains of despotism are riveted on our unresisting limbs, but strike wherever power evinces the hostile and settled purpose to accomplish the overthrow of our reserved rights. Is it urged that this doctrine is the parent of Anarchy? When, let me ask, would Freedom ever have gained one triumph if her votaries had listened to the cry that anarchy would follow in her footsteps? Why is it, let me ask you, in the language of the declaration, all experience has shown that "men are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing established forms to which they are accustomed?" it is because the minions of Absolutism have in every age alarmed their distempered fears with the argument that anarchy would follow upon that effort to right themselves. Here it will be well for us not to forget one instructive lesson in the history of the past. During the months that preceded the declaration, thousands upon thousands of pure patriots believed that the time for action had not come. Dreading the issue of a revolutionary experiment, they preferred to wait and hope for a reformation of evils endured, rather than fly to others that they knew not of. But when the sword was drawn, and England sent her squadrons to consummate the work of coercion, those same men showed that their caution was not the result of craven fear, but rushed with alacrity to the front of danger, and stood side by side with those who had precipitated the conflict. And no one asked in the day of trial whether his comrade was the first or last to determine on resistance. It was enough that he responded to his country's call, and stood ready to seal, if need be, with his blood, the cause which his prudence had once condemned.

We who contemplate, after so great a lapse of time, the history of that memorable struggle, can but faintly conceive the danger and suffering—the privation, and agonizing disaster, which, for seven long years, tortured the hopes of a brave people! But they had chosen one for their leader, the bare mention of whose name still awakens those emotions in the heart which constitute his most fitting eulogy. Among all the nations of men there was but one WASHINGTON, and none other like him; and from the bosom of the Old Dominion he issued forth to lead the people in the people's cause. Alike unmoved by the praises of the world, or the censures of his own countrymen, he moved calmly forward to the accomplishment of the great work which Providence had assigned him. Whether we regard him after a victorious battle, receiving the congratulations of a whole people, or see him sustaining the censure of his followers for the consummate skill which would not peril all for temporary success—whether upon his bended knees, asking aid of Heaven or charging at the head of a shattered column, under the burning sun of Monmouth—whether denounced as one who aspired to the dictatorship, or blessed by both sexes as the savior of his country, he was always the same gifted and pure man!—God's champion in the van of Freedom!

His armies were worthy of their leader. They were animated with the same stern daring that animated his own soul. On them he leaned for support with steadfast trust, and they repaid his confidence with a devotion that never faltered. On the heights of King's Mountain, on the blood-stained snows of Trenton, in the trenches of Yorktown, and more than all, when environed by the gaunt horrors of Valley Forge, our fathers have learned us how to struggle, to endure, and to conquer.

There were, indeed, a few who could not forget that they had been the subjects of Britain; that they had rejoiced in her glory, praised the freedom of her laws, and followed her standard in days that had gone. Yielding to the seductive memories of the past, they tamely crouched before the minions of her power; and to-day the name of *Tory* lives only in the "festering infamy of years." But the spirit of those who resisted remained unbroken, and they illustrated by their sacrifices how much may be endured by man, when he protects his freedom and his home.

While the army sustained its leader, they, in turn, were encouraged and sustained by the people. No speculating vampire hounded a suffering soldiery to fatten from their necessities. No Shylock was found, in the ranks of freedom, who could calmly weigh, in one scale the value of Independence, and in the other

the cost of establishing it. No prophet of evil repaired to the camp to croak in the ears of the soldiery the raven notes of his despair. The luxuries of life were abandoned by a frugal people; fashion clothed herself in homespun; and the concentrated hopes, and prayers, and energies, of all, were given to the great cause. And thus it triumphed.

And when the victory had been gained, the voice of rejoicing went up from the glad hearts of a redeemed people. All the privation, the suffering, the desolation, and disasters of the past were forgotten, in the great joy of that hour. The once feeble colonies, each of which had been, by name, recognized by Great Britain as a sovereign and independent State, now stood proudly forth to claim their rank among the sisterhood of nations.

But a great work was yet before them. Warned by all past experience, that distracting jealousy, and fierce contention, had worked the overthrow of all petty neighboring republics, it was determined that the States should be more perfectly united, "to establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare of them all." For the accomplishment of these great ends, giant intellects labored; and if we, their descendants, must now fail to enjoy the fruition of their hopes, it is from no inherent defect in the system of government which they left us, but from the dark and damning fanaticism of those who were to be, equally with ourselves, its beneficiaries.

In tracing the consequences of the Declaration of Independence, ere we glance at those events now uppermost in the minds of all, let us bestow a passing thought on the early splendors of the Union that has passed; let us remember it to love it only as it was when it came from the hands of its architects, ere the withering influence of a false philosophy had blasted the growth of its branching promises to man.

We viewed the Union as our fathers viewed it; not as an idol set up for men to worship and adore, but as the legitimate offspring of a written Constitution, which spoke it into being; as the creature of an organic law which created the government, and limited its powers, and upon which the people and the ruler should alike look as the pillar of fire to guide them in their wanderings.

Upon that Constitution the eyes of all were fixed with admiration and buoyant hope. To it the descendant of the grim Puritan and the Cavalier looked with a common faith; and he who, with his rifle in his hand, standing upon the summit of the

Blue Ridge, had been gazing westward and southward, caught the inspiration of the hour, and bore with him into unpeopled solitudes, that spirit of freedom, regulated and controlled by constitutional law, which is this day warming the hearts and nerveing the arms of his posterity.

The Constitution and the Union,—one the parent, the other the offspring—one the written will of sovereign States, the other the garment in which their joint power clothed itself,—these were the strong motors to the wheels of progress. Who has not felt his heart bound with joy when he contemplated the early achievements of that Government, while yet the Constitution was revered and obeyed by those who controlled her destinies! The wilderness bowed down before the energy of her pioneers; the nations clothed themselves with the productions of her soil: and whilst the shadow of her power rested upon distant lands, the citizen of *every* State could stand erect, with the pride of conscious freedom, when he remembered that the Government was his—that it was not his master, but his servant: that he and his peers had made it, without exhausting their power, and that they could unmake it, if ever it should cease to protect either their lives, their liberty, or their property, against foreign or domestic violence.

With that spirit animating the people, the march of progress was unexampled. The States warred not among themselves, but leaned against each other for support against the banded nations; whilst, under the protecting Ægis of a Federal Constitution, the oppressed children of earth everywhere hastened to find rest, and strength, and safety. This was a spectacle on which an assembled universe might have gazed with the silent rapture of a great joy.

There Science, wandering, found her cho-en seat,
And spread her store of blessings at their feet;
Wheeled their broad commerce o'er each distant deep—
Even sent their thoughts upon the lightning's leap:
Traversed their Union with her iron bands,
And helped them labor with her thousand hands;
With Art, her sister, walked through every State,
To help them prosper, and to make them great.

We love to remember the early glories of the Union that has gone, because we love the principles of regulated freedom which created it. We love to rejoice over its earlier, and better days, because to our fathers it was the shadow of a great rock in the desert; and we even clung to its lifeless form long after its vital spirit had departed, and when it promised us nothing—nothing,

in the approaching future, but the vertical rays of a sectional tyranny worse than death.

The glories of that Union have long since departed. The bloom of youth was yet upon her cheek, and the strength of a giant manhood in her arms, when the fingers of intolerance and fanaticism were silently loosening the chords of her existence.

The fell spirit which drove Roger Williams to the wilderness, which denied a lauding to the churchman of England, and which burned women for witches at the stake, had not died, but slept. It would sometimes rouse from its restless slumber, to mutter its edicts in favor of Millerism; to explain the mysteries of free love; to make strong-minded women unsex themselves; to astound its followers with the wonders of clairvoyance, or start spirits to rapping, and writing, for their instruction: but its greatest achievement was reserved for the hour of its awakening, when it should come, refreshed from its slumber, to make Infidelity and Religion shake hands over a desecrated Constitution, and a broken Union.

For thirty years, a feeling of jealousy and hatred had been intensifying between ourselves and those who dwell by the shores of New England, and their descendants who had immigrated along the frozen lakes. For thirty years the halls of a common congress had echoed to the fierce defiance of the sections. A Government of co-equal and independent States contained distinct types of civilization, clearly marked by a geographical line traversing their center. South of that line the States, impelled by the laws of climate and production, found that they had solved the great problem which the statesmen of Europe had essayed in vain, and that capital and labor harmonised in their borders. North of that line a morality, higher than that of the Bible, was taught alike by the preacher and the infidel; and the disciple of Him who had exhorted slaves to the duty of obedience, clasped, in the bonds of "equality and fraternity," the prowling thief who, in the name of "liberty," had stolen the property of his southern neighbor. A law higher than the Constitution, yet conflicting with it, was promulgated, and that great charter of our rights was denounced as "a league with hell, and a covenant with death."

The power of the north bowed down before this new philosophy, and her States, at its command, nullified and spurned, the laws which the Constitution had commanded for our protection.

It was not enough that they were permitted, unmolested, to strain the overworked sinews of the fair-haired maid and the

helpless age of their own kindred, amid the ceaseless hum of their vast factories; it was not enough that they were permitted, without hindrance, to doom to endless poverty the suffering millions of their own race under the crushing power of concentrated capital: they longed for more extended fields of usefulness. They looked away to the regions of the South, and beheld their brethren sunk in moral depravity and mental blindness, and they aspired to a guardianship over the morality of fifteen States; to prescribe the conditions of their safety, and determine the laws of their expansion.

It was not enough that their commerce was sustained by the products of our soil, their enterprise enriched by the collection of revenue under partial laws, and that we, with a spirit of forbearance unknown in the history of man, had, for long years, endured their hatred and their taunts; the Sharp's rifle must be sent to drive us from the common property, and sanctimonious villains come around our hearth-stones to incite to the butchery of our women and children.

A conflict had begun between the moral forces, and their great leader had told us that it should be "irrepressible;" that they had driven us from the Territories, and that they would soon invade us in the States, unless we yielded to their demands, and secured equality to our slaves. A sectional President must be elected, whose great recommendation was, that he had announced his hatred for our institutions.

Representation was indeed to be allowed us, but it was to be the representation of the minority against a hostile majority,—the representation of the weak, in the hostile camp of the strong,—upon a question that had been prejudged against us, which involved, directly, our right to regulate our local affairs, and, indirectly, fifteen hundred millions worth of property.

In vain the Constitution was invoked to protect the reserved rights of the States and the people: that was the "covenant with death." The Union—the Union, had become their only idol: the child had strangled its parent; the garment was worshipped for the God. In vain we pointed to a Supreme Court, the highest tribunal upon earth, its Chief Justice the chosen friend of Jackson, and venerable from age, and implored them to spare us the degradation of being ruled over by a President who would disregard their decision, already pronounced in our favor. All, all was in vain! The designs of sectional despotism were manifest. We knew that the same sectional spirit which could, in November, elect its President, could, in June, hurl its armed mercenaries on the soil of Missouri, to butcher her citizens if she trusted

to its clemency. We knew that the same States that could violate the Constitution by extending liberty to our escaped slaves, could, in June, force their President to spurn the writ of *habeas corpus*, when issued by the Chief Justice for the benefit of a white man, and a Marylander, in chains.

All experiences had taught us that the approaches of sectional aggression were gradual; that it concealed its hand of iron in a glove of velvet, whilst its footsteps were upon precedent of its own making. The lessons of the past were not forgotten; the language of the Declaration of Independence had not been left us in vain; we remembered that whenever a Government ceased to answer the ends for which it was made, it was not only the right but the duty of the people to "establish new Government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them should seem most likely to effect their happiness and safety."

We have established new guards for our future safety by separating from those who sought to use the powers of Government for our destruction. We have asserted our independence of the old Union for causes before the magnitude of which the collection of a tax on tea dwindles into insignificance. Who can charge upon the South that she was ever untrue to the Constitution or the Union under it, so long as her equal rights were observed and respected. Upon many a bloody field, wherever the sleet of battle had thickest fallen,—wherever the red harvest of war's sleepers was thickest strewn, than her chivalry had charged in upholding the honor of the flag they loved. *But*, ay, but even as the young Washington, who upon the bloody field of Monongahela charged again, and yet again, to redeem the wavering standard of Britain's royalty, received from Freedom's hand another flag, when the old one flaunted over the hosts of coercion, even so the men of the South, now that their once loved banner is borne by an invading foe, will baptize in the smoke of battle another flag which shall be the true emblem of their equal rights.

We are to-day engaged in the second war for independence, resisting the demands of centralization, fighting battles for self-government, and upholding the cause of constitutional freedom. Old men have long told us that the hour of our trial would come. The first shriek of fanaticism over the admission of Missouri fell upon the startled ear of the author of the Declaration of Independence, like the alarm of a fire-bell in the watches of the night. Let us then cease to wonder that the army of the Crusader is moving. Many a red Peter has for years preached that the

Lamb of Peace must be worshipped in blood, and taught the multitude in the name of God to war upon his providence in destroying the social relations He has established. In resisting this crusade, we are yielding to a God-given impulse, which he lodged in the breast of man when He made him, and which prompts even the worm to turn and sting the foot that spurns it.

You, who are about to devote yourselves first to the service of your country, will be nerved and animated by the reflection that you are not fighting for the shadowy and unsubstantial phantoms of the past, but to preserve your high estate in the living present. That you are not periling your lives in behalf of usurpation, infidelity and sectional tyranny, but for your country, home and civilization. Remember that the hopes and blessings of gentle woman will attend you ; that the hour of your danger will be the hour of her pale, proud agony, when she will clasp her tender nestling to her bosom, and shuddering, think upon her doom if your footsteps should turn backward in the strife.

You upon whom at home will rest the responsibility of preserving a sound public sentiment, have a fearful trust, for which God and posterity will judge you. Let the language of crimination and recrimination cease in our midst ; let the devil of party strife be buried under our feet with his face downwards. Count him a bad adviser who will tell you that past opinion shall be the measure of present patriotism, and take by the hand as a brother and a friend, even as your grandsires did, all who will stand by their country in the hour of her peril, and defend the soil that feeds them. Let us remember to preserve the military subordinate to the civil power, and cherish a reverential regard for the supremacy of the law. Shall we, who cast off the tyranny of higher-lawism at the North, bow down before the grim Moloch, when he stalks upon our own soil ? The written law, made by ourselves, must be the power before which we bend ; if that be overthrown, then, indeed, would Anarchy, with her serpent brood, come among us, from whom would spring absolutism, to establish order at the expense of freedom. I urge you, as I have ever done, to suspend the hand of violence in our midst, except when it strikes at the command of the law, or in the sacred cause of self defence. Spurn with contempt that bastard statesmanship which would persuade you that a stronger government can alone secure stability. The centralization of power was advocated by many who framed the old Constitution ; their proselytes have existed in every subsequent stage of our progress, and should now be watched with sleepless vigilance. If they have lately been more bold than before, it is because

their hopes were excited by sudden and convulsive changes; but if they have failed to make proselytes among the people, it should cheer us with the assurance of their weakness. The fossil demagogues who haunt the scenes of their former power to slander and defame all who in this crisis will discharge their duty, may indeed think their advancement can be secured only by some other medium than the elective franchise, and may already be desiring and predicting the establishment of a stronger government; but the hopes of a glorious future depend not on them or their sycophants, but upon the bone and sinew of this land, who dwell on your prairies and in your valleys, who are devoted to the cause of free government, and will be for ever.

We have not destroyed, but have shown our ability to preserve republican institutions. As a chastened people in olden time carried with them through strange afflictions the Ark of the Covenant, so we have clung through every trial to the Constitution of our country; and when we departed from those who for this faith persecuted us, we brought it with us as the ark of our safety, and are to-day struggling as a people for the enjoyment of all that it secures.

If the spirit of all shall be crushed by submitting to the exactions of arbitrary power, under the forms of violated law—if these States now contending for the right of self government, shall be overborne and stricken down by invading foes, then indeed will absolutism gain a triumph in our midst. And is any one so blind as now to hope that either submission or conquest would not be followed by the destruction of every right that the freemen value? How could the conquered States be governed, except by a powerful standing army quartered among the people? How could they expect either justice or protection from a people who had conquered and subdued them? how look for equality of right from those whose hate would be inflamed by conflicts and carnage? Despotism—the despotism of military force, the worst of all, would be our fate. Who would desire to restore the Government of the past with a fate like that before him? As well might you expect the first estate of bliss in Heaven would return by restoring Lucifer and his fallen hosts, all hot and smoking from the lowest deep, with their sins unrepented, as to expect that a reconstruction of the past would bring either peace, safety or happiness to the South. Your Senators, no longer erect with the proud consciousness that they spoke for the sovereignty of States, would bow their heads before their Northern conquerors,

and supplicate for every crumb of favor that the hand of power would grant.—your women looking around for their neighbors among enfranchized slaves, would scorn you for degrading them and their children to negro equality; your sons growing to man's estate, deprived of the elective franchise, would cower before their conquerors with the craven soul of the provincial subject. With State rights shipwrecked, and *northern* officials lording it over you, under laws suited to territorial vassalage, your folly would only be equalled by your infamy. No gloomy prophet of the present could then take comfort over the dark fulfillment of his predictions, but upon *all* would rest the shadow of disgrace and the mark of the serf. The heart sickens and revolts at the disgusting picture.

But a brighter, a more glorious destiny awaits us; it will come through carnage—it *may* come after the fires of desolation have swept the land—but it will surely come. I predict not to that cold being, with soul all rusted and shrivelled by devoting six days and a half to his great god Dollar, half of a day to his Christ, and no hour to his country, but I speak to the living and glowing spirit of the South, which is to-day bristling the land with its crop of armed men. The day of our deliverance and triumph will surely come.

Already the Old Dominion stands like a grim lioness at bay in the gaps of the Alleghanies, guarding her progeny of the South, and as often as her cry shall come to us for help, it will go, in long and living waves, crested with glittering steel. It may be that, overborne for a time, her sons may fall back for increased strength, but the cause of God, Civilization and Country must at last triumph, and the wave of conquest flow back to cover again the loved old land consecrated to Freedom.

In view of all the lessons of the past, and the issues of the present, we may reassure ourselves with the conviction that we have not departed from the faith bequeathed to us by the men of Seventy-Six. Constitutional liberty expelled from most Governments upon earth, finds now her abiding place among the Confederate States of America, and so long as they are true to the principles that now govern and control them, so long will the fourth day of July be held in grateful remembrance.

